

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5324

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY PANAMA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

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AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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BEIRUT PASS BAGHDAD

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, XF
SUBJ: AMB MOYNIHAN'S STATEMENTS DURING JANUARY 12 SECURITY
COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST

REF: USUN 089

1. TEXTS FOLLOW OF (A) US PREPARED STATEMENT ON PLO PARTICIPATION
AND (B) AMB MOYNIHAN'S EXTEMPORANEOUS INTERVENTIONS IN JANUARY 12
DEBATE:

2. QUOTE

(A) MR. PRESIDENT, I THANK YOU, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, FOR
THE PLEASANT OPPORTUNITY WHICH MY SPEAKING FIRST ON THIS FIRST
MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE NEW YEAR GIVES TO ME TO EXPRESS
THE APPRECIATION AND ADMIRATION WHICH WE ALL FEEL FOR THE
DISTINGUISHED SERVICE WHICH AMB RICHARD, OUR COLLEAGUE FROM
GREAT BRITAIN, PERFORMED IN HIS ROLE AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
IN THE MONTH OF DEC, A MONTH NOT WITHOUT ITS TRIBULATIONS,
NOW THAT ITS DANGERS TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY WERE AVERTED,
SURELY ATTEST TO THE SKILL OF AMB RICHARD AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

AND ALSO, MR PRESIDENT, THIS OPPORTUNITY PRESENTS ITSELF TO
ME TO CONGRATULATE YOU, SIR, ON YOUR ASSENT AT SUCH AN EARLY
AGE TO SUCH EMINENCE WHICH WE HAVE EVERY EXPECTATION YOU
WILL DISTINGUISH YOURSELF IN, AS YOU HAVE DONE IN SO MANY OTHER
POSITIONS IN THE PAST.

I WOULD LIKE THEREFORE, MR PRESIDENT, TO THANK YOU FOR THE
OPPORTUNITY TO STATE THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT
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TO THE MOTION WHICH YOU, SIR, HAVE PRESENTED.

AS WILL BE RECALLED, MR PRESIDENT, ON DEC 4, 1975, THE
LAST OCCASION ON WHICH THE COUNCIL DEALT WITH ME AFFAIRS,
IT WAS PROPOSED TO INVITE THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
TO PARTICIPATE IN THAT DEBATE WITH "THE SAME RIGHTS OF PARTICI-
PATION AS ARE CONFERRED WHEN A MEMBER STATE IS INVITED TO
PARTICIPATE UNDER RULE 37."

THE SAME PROPOSAL, MR PRESIDENT, HAS BEEN MADE TODAY.

THE PROPOSAL OF DEC 4, 1975 ELICITED STRONG OBJECTIONS FROM SOME MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, INCLUDING THE US. OUR POSITION TODAY IS UNCHANGED FROM THAT OF FOUR WEEKS AGO.

WHAT IS AT ISSUE TODAY IN SIGNIFICANT MEASURE IS THE INTEGRITY OF THE PROCESSES OF THE SC. WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN A STARTLING DECLINE IN THE CONFIDENCE WITH WHICH THE PROCESSES OF THE GA ARE VIEWED. SEEKING TO CREATE PRECEDENTS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME NOT ADHERING TO THE RULES, CAN ERODE THE COUNCIL'S INFLUENCE AND AUTHORITY AS HAS OCCURRED IN THE ASSEMBLY. IT IS IN NOBODY'S INTEREST FOR THIS SAME PROCESS TO TAKE HOLD IN THE SC.

RULE 37 OF OUR PROVISIONAL RULES STATES THAT "ANY MEMBER OF THE UN WHICH IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE SC MAY BE INVITED, AS A RESULT OF A DECISION OF THE SC, TO PARTICIPATE, WITHOUT VOTE, IN THE DISCUSSION OF ANY QUESTION BROUGHT BEFORE THE SC WHEN THE SC CONSIDERS THAT THE INTERESTS OF THAT MEMBER ARE SPECIALLY AFFECTED OR WHEN A MEMBER BRINGS A MATTER TO THE ATTENTION OF THE SC IN ACCORDANCE WITH ART 35(1) OF THE CHARTER."

MR PRESIDENT, IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT A MEMBER OF THE UN IS A STATE. WE DO NOT HAVE MEMBERS, AND THE CHARTER DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR MEMBERS, WHICH ARE NOT STATES. THE PLO IS NOT A STATE. IT DOES NOT ADMINISTER A DEFINED TERRITORY. IT DOES NOT HAVE THE ATTRIBUTES OF A GOVERNMENT OF A STATE. IT DOES NOT CLAIM TO BE A STATE. THIS IS THE BASIC RELEVANT FACT WE HAVE HERE WITH RESPECT TO THE PROPOSAL BEFORE US.

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WHEN WE WERE FACED WITH THE SIMILAR PROPOSAL ON DEC 4, IT ELICITED, AS I HAVE SAID, THE STRONGEST PROTEST FROM SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, INCLUDING THE US. I DESCRIBED IT AS A "CONCERTED ATTEMPT TO DISREGARD THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND TO ACCORD TO THE PLO A ROLE GREATER EVEN THAN THAT WHICH OVER THE YEARS THE COUNCIL HAS GRANTED TO OBSERVER GOVERNMENTS, AND A ROLE GREATER BY FAR THAN HAS IN MORE RECENT TIMES BEEN GRANTED TO THE SPOKESMEN OF LEGITIMATE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS INVITED HERE UNDER RULE 39. I SAID THEN AND I REPEAT THAT THE US IS NOT PREPARED TO AGREE AND WE DO NOT BELIEVE THIS COUNCIL SHOULD AGREE TO AN AD HOC DEPARTURE FROM THE RULES OF PROCEDURE WHICH IGNORES THE NEEDS OF THIS INSTITUTION. UNFORTUNATELY, DESPITE OUR OPPOSITION AND AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS BY OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS AND ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, RULE AND PRECEDENT WERE IGNORED ON DEC 4 TO

EXTEND THE INVITATION AS PROPOSED.

I WISH TO EMPHASIZE AT THIS POINT THAT I AM NOT ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OUR PROCEEDINGS ARE OF INTEREST TO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. THE US VIEW THAT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE AN INTRINSIC PART OF THE PROBLEM OF LASTING PEACE IN THE ME IS WELL KNOWN AND IS UNCHANGED. THIS IS NOT THE MATTER I AM ADDRESSING. IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO DEAL WITH THIS MATTER TODAY AT ALL.

THE SPECIFIC ISSUE BEFORE US, MR PRESIDENT, IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO THE INTEGRITY OF SC PROCEDURES AND TO THE FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS BODY. IF WE TAKE LIBERTIES WITH THOSE PROCEDURES, AND, UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF IMMEDIATE POLITICAL POSITIONS WITH RESPECT TO A GIVEN QUESTION BEFORE THIS COUNCIL, ESTABLISH OR REAFFIRM UNWISE PRECEDENTS, THIS WILL COME BACK TO HAUNT US. I WANT TO STRESS THAT A DECISION TO INVITE THE PLO TO PARTICIPATE IN OUR DELIBERATIONS, NOT UNDER EXISTING COUNCIL RULES, BUT AS IF IT WERE A MEMBER STATE WITH THE SAME RIGHTS AS A MEMBER STATE OF THE UN WOULD OPEN A VERITABLE PANDORA'S BOX OF FUTURE DIFFICULTIES.

WERE THAT BOX TO BE OPENED, THERE ARE GROUPS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD THAT COULD SEEK TO PARTICIPATE IN OUR PROCEEDINGS AS IF THEY WERE MEMBER STATES. NO NATION REPRESENTED AT THIS TABLE, INCLUDING MY OWN, WOULD NECESSARILY BE IMMUNE FROM THE PERNICIOUS CONSEQUENCES.

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MR PRESIDENT, I REPEAT: THE PLO IS NOT A STATE; IT DOES NOT CLAIM TO BE A STATE. FOR THE MOST ELEMENTAL OF REASONS, ONLY MEMBER STATES CAN PARTICIPATE IN OUR PROCEEDINGS AS MEMBER STATES. UNLESS, OF COURSE, WE CHANGE THE RULES, WHEREUPON WE SHALL LOOK FORWARD TO WELCOMING THE DISSIDENT FACTIONS AND NATIONALITIES OF HALF THE WORLD, FOR IN POINT OF FACT, ROUGHLY HALF OF THE NATIONS IN THE WORLD FACE SERIOUS TO EXTREME PROBLEMS OF INTERNAL COHESION, OWING TO INTERNAL ETHNIC CONFLICT. THIS IS TRUE OF MORE THAN HALF THE PRESENT MEMBERS OF THE SC.

MOREOVER, THE PLO, WHICH IS NOT A STATE, MUCH LESS A MEMBER STATE, SUFFERS FROM AN ADDITIONAL DISABILITY SEEKING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THIS COUNCIL. IT DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT TO EXIST OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, WHICH IS A MEMBER STATE, AND WHOSE RIGHT TO EXIST IS GUARANTEED BY THE CHARTER

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FINALLY, THE PLO, WHICH IS NOT A STATE, AND WHICH DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT TO EXIST OF ISRAEL, WHICH IS A MEMBER STATE, FURTHER REFUSES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE AUTHORITY OF THIS COUNCIL, WHICH IN RESES 242 AND 338 HAS UNDERTAKEN TO UPHOLD THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES OF THE ME.

MY GOVERNMENT IS NOT PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH AN ACTION WHICH WILL UNDERMINE THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS WHICH IS THE ONLY PROCESS THAT CAN LEAD TO PEACE. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION HAVE REPEATEDLY TOLD THE GA OF THEIR HOSTILITY FOR SYSTEMATIC NEGOTIATIONS AND THEIR HOSTILITY FOR THE WORK OF THIS COUNCIL. THEY CATEGORICALLY REJECTED SC RES 242 WHICH FOR YEARS HAS SERVED AND CONTINUES TO SERVE AS THE ONLY AGREED BASIS FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

MR PRESIDENT, THE SC IS THE CAPSTONE OF THE UN. IT CAN ACT AND HAS DONE SO WITH DISTINCTION IN WAYS WHICH HAVE BEEN ESSENTIAL TO PEACE, ESPECIALLY IN THE ME. THE PRESERVATION OF ITS INTEGRITY AND EFFECTIVENESS DESERVE OUR CARE AND ATTENTION.

THE COUNCIL SHOULD NOT REPEAT ITS MISTAKEN AD HOC DECISION OF DEC 4. THE US ASKS THAT A VOTE BE TAKEN ON YOUR MOTION, MR PRESIDENT. THE US WILL VOTE AGAINST THE MOTION. UNQUOTE

3. QUOTE:

(B) MR PRESIDENT, MAY I FIRST TAKE THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY TO WELCOME THE REPS OF OUR NEW MEMBERS, THE LIBYAN ARAB REPUBLIC, MY BROTHER FROM PANAMA, MY COLLEAGUES FROM ROMANIA AND PAKISTAN, AND TO CONGRATULATE THEM ON THEIR MAIDEN SPEECHES WHICH WERE SET FORTH IN A SPIRIT OF INQUIRY AND GOOD WILL
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AND TO LOOK FORWARD TO THE MAIDEN SPEECH OF MY COLLEAGUE, AMB BOYA FROM BENIN AND TO ASSURE HIM THAT I SHARE JUST THOSE EXPECTATIONS.

MR PRESIDENT, IT IS NECESSARY TO INTERVENE THIS SECOND TIME AND HOPEFULLY THIS LAST TIME TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF THE ALARM, I THINK, IF THAT'S NOT TOO STRONG A TERM, EXPRESSED BY YOUR DISTINGUISHED PREDECESSOR AND OUR COLLEAGUE, THE AMB OF THE UK, AND ALARM AT THE PRESISTENCE OF AN ASSERTION BEFORE THIS COUNCIL WHICH WE DEALT WITH ALL MORNING IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AND WHICH APPEARS WE SHALL GO ON DEALING WITH DESPITE INSURMOUNT-ABLE OBJECTIONS IN LANGUAGE AND IN LOGIC TO THIS ASSERTION.

THE ASSERTION, AS WILL BE CLEAR, IS THAT MADE TO THE EFFECT THAT THIS COUNCIL DECIDED ON NOV 30 TO INVITE THE PLO TO OUR GATHERINGS. NOW, MR PRESIDENT, WE DID NOT. WE DID NOT, THAT IS ALL. WHICH DOES NOT SAY THAT WE CANNOT OR THAT WE WILL NOT. NO ONE FOR A MOMENT HESITATED THIS MORNING TO SAY, AS MANY HAVE

SAID THIS AFTERNOON, THAT WE WILL PROCEED TO DO THIS.
WHY THIS INSISTENCE THAT IN FACT WE HAVE ALREADY DONE IT?
WHAT IS THIS?

LET ME, IF I MAY, READ TO THE COUNCIL FOR THE RECORD THIS
AFTERNOON WHAT I READ THIS MORNING, JUST AS AN EXAMPLE OF
ONE DELEGATE'S PERCEPTION OF WHAT TOOK PLACE ON THE 30TH OF
NOV, THE PERCEPTION OF THE 30 OF NOV. IF YOU RECALL, MR
PRESIDENT, AND YOU SAT TO MY RIGHT THEN AS YOU DO NOW,
I STATED: "MY DELEGATION WISHES TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE US DOES
NOT SUPPORT THE STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT" -- A
STATEMENT THAT THE MAJORITY WISHES TO EXTEND ITS INVITATION
WHEN THE TIME COMES; WE WERE SIMPLY MAKING THE POINT THAT WE
WERE NOT PART OF THAT MAJORITY, WHICH IS BY DEFINITION THERE
WERE GOING TO BE SOME PEOPLE WHO WERE IN THE MINORITY IF IT
WAS NOT A UNANIMOUS STATEMENT -- WE DID NOT "SUPPORT THE
STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT, OF YOURSELF, SIR, INDICATING
THAT THE PLO WILL BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE JAN SESSION. THIS
STATEMENT IN ANY EVENT DID NOT REPORT A DECISION BUT WAS MERELY
A SUMMATION OF THE VIEWS OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL."

NOW, THAT WAS MY LANGUAGE. I MIGHT REPEAT IT. "THIS STATEMENT
IN ANY EVENT DID NOT REPORT A DECISION BUT WAS MERELY A
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SUMMATION OF THE VIEWS OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL. WE DO
NOT CONSIDER THAT THE EXTRANEIOUS MATTERS WHICH HAVE BEEN
INTRODUCED INTO THE COUNCIL'S ACTION TODAY CAN HAVE THE EFFECT
OF CHANGING EITHER THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK. THE BASIS FOR
THESE NEGOTIATIONS" -- REFERRING TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND
TO SC RES 242 -- "OR THE PARTICIPANTS IN THEM."

NOW, MR PRESIDENT, OBVIOUSLY ON THE 30 OF NOV WE WERE
PROCEEDING IN THE ORDERLY WAY WHICH HAS BEEN THE PRIDE OF THIS
COUNCIL. AS A MATTER OF COMITY, A MAJORITY IN THIS CASE WISHED
TO RECORD A VIEW IT HAD, AND THERE WAS NEVER ANY OBJECTION IN
THIS COUNCIL TO MEMBERS STATING THEIR VIEWS, FINE, STATE YOUR
VIEW. SIX MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL DID NOT SHARE THE MAJORITY
VIEW -- WELL, AT LEAST SOME MEMBERS. WE DID NOT VOTE, AS YOU
RECALL, WE SAID WE DO NOT HAVE TO VOTE, THIS WAS NOT A DECISION.
BUT BY ALL MEANS DO THIS, THIS IS GOOD. IF THAT IS WHAT YOU
WANT, IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THAT MATTER ON THE RECORD, FINE,
THAT IS YOUR RIGHT. WE ARE DESIROUS OF HAVING NATIONS STATE
THEIR VIEWS HERE AND WHEN THERE IS MORE THAN ONE, TO STATE IT
AS A GROUP. AND SO AS A MATTER OF COMITY, OF GOOD SENSE, WE WENT
FORWARD.

BUT NOW SUDDENLY WE ARE PRESENTED WITH THE PROPOSITION THAT
NO, NO, NO, WE DID NOT DO WHAT EVERYONE PRESENT THOUGHT WE
WERE DOING, WE HAD DONE SOMETHING MUCH DIFFERENT: WE BOUND
OURSELVES WHEN WE MERELY THOUGHT WE WERE LISTENING TO ONE ANOTHER

ON A MATTER OF INTEREST AND OBVIOUS RELEVANCE. THAT THE PROCEDURES AS WE HAD ALL UNDERSTOOD THEM AT THE TIME HAVE SOMEHOW IN RETROSPECT BEEN CHANGED, THAT SOME KIND OF OBLIGATION AROSE FROM A PROCESS IN WHICH NO OBLIGATION WAS ASSERTED, NONE PERCEIVED, AT LEAST NONE THAT I AM AWARE OF, CERTAINLY NOT AT THE TIME.

NOW, MR PRESIDENT, THE DISTINGUISHED AMB OF THE UK SAID OF HIS ASSERTION THAT IT WAS DESIGNED TO CONFUSE RATHER THAN TO CLARIFY. I WOULD LIKE TO GO BEYOND THAT AND ASK IF SOMETHING LARGER IS NOT IN OUR PRESENCE AND IF IT OUGHT NOT TO BE RAISED BECAUSE IT IS PRECISELY THE MATTER WHICH I ADDRESSED IN MY OPENING STATEMENT, THE US DID. SOME MAY WONDER WHY THIS MATTER WAS CONFINED TO PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS AND NOT TO SUBSTANTIVE ONES. WELL, THE ANSWER IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, OF COURSE, IS THAT IT IS A PROCEDURAL MATTER THAT IS BEFORE US. BUT THERE IS A
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SECOND ANSWER AND THAT COMES OUT OF THE EXPERIENCE OF TWO CENTURIES OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH IS THAT PROCESS IS EVERYTHING, THAT WHEN PROCEDURE IS DESTROYED, LIBERTY IS DESTROYED, THAT THE WAY YOU GO ABOUT THE AFFAIRS OF GOVERNANCE IS THE ESSENCE OF THE OUTCOME. IT IS NOT AN ASPECT OF GOVERNANCE, IT IS THE ESSENCE OF GOVERNANCE, THE WORD DUE PROCESS IN AMERICAN JURISPRUDENCE AND CONSTITUTIONAL LAW BEING THE SINGLE CENTRAL CONCEPT AS WE UNDERSTAND IT OF THE RULE OF LAW, OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

AND SO WHEN WE SPEAK, WHEN THE US FROM TWO CENTURIES IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR SPEAKS OF THE EROSION OF PROCEDURE, WE SPEAK OF A MATTER OF FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN TO US. WE SPEAK OF A MATTER CONCERNING WHICH WE MAY AT LEAST BE SAID TO SPEAK WITH THE EXPERIENCE OF TWO CENTURIES.

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NOW, WHAT IS GOING ON IN THIS MATTER OF THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE
AMONGST US OF THE PROPOSITION THAT AN INFORMAL, FRIENDLY STATEMENT,
AN ARRANGEMENT THAT SUITED THE PURPOSE CONTRIVED TO SUIT A

CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCE AND DID SO WELL AT THE TIME, IN RETROSPECT ACQUIRES ENORMOUS, OMINOUS, FOREBODING, ALARMING PROPORTIONS? I WILL TELL YOU. WHAT WE MAY VERY WELL HAVE TO COME TO JUDGE WE ARE SEEING HERE TODAY IS THE COMMENCEMENT OF AN EFFORT TO SUBVERT THE OPEN AND PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS OF THE SC AND REPLACE THEM BY THE RULE OF AN EXTRALEGAL, SEMISECRET APPARAT, WHICH IS INACCESSIBLE TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE UN AND INACCESSIBLE TO THE PROCESS OF INQUIRY. MR PRESIDENT, THERE IS A TERM FOR THIS AND THE TERM IS TOTALITARIANISM. IN THE 19TH CENTURY THE GREAT SWISS HISTORIAN, JACOB BUCKHARDT SAID THAT THE 20TH CENTURY WOULD BE THE CENTURY HE SAID OF "LES TERRIBLES SIMPLIFICATEURS," WITH APOLOGIES TO MY COUSIN FROM FRANCE FOR MY PRONOUNCIATION. THE AGE OF THE TERRIBLE SIMPLIFIERS, THE AGE OF THOSE WHO TOOK COMPLEX REALITY AND ASSERTED IT TO BE ANYTHING BUT, CRUSHED IT INTO A SLOGAN, STAMPED IT INTO A PHRASE.

AND THIS HAS HAPPENED UNDER DIFFERENT NAMES IN THE 20TH CENTURY, WITH DIFFERENT SLOGANS IN DIFFERENT REGIONS, BUT ALWAYS THE SAME TECHNIQUE IS INVOLVED WHICH IS THE TRANSFER OF REAL AUTHORITY AND TRUE POWER FROM THE ESTABLISHED CONSTITUTIONAL CENTERS, INSTITUTIONS, ORGANS, OUT OF THE PUBLIC LIGHT AND THE FRESH AIR OF EXCHANGE AND INQUIRY AND REVIEW INTO THE DARK RECESSES OF TOTALITARIAN CONSPIRACY.

IT IS NOT THE 19TH CENTURY WHERE ONE CAN LOOK FORWARD WITH SOME UNCERTAINTY TO SUCH A THING HAPPENING. WE APPROACH THE LATTER PART OF THE 20TH CENTURY WHERE IT HAS HAPPENED IN NATION AFTER NATION, PEOPLE AFTER PEOPLE HAVE SUCCUMBED TO IT.
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WE HAVE SEEN THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORGANS OF THE WORLD SUBVERTED BY THIS PROCESS IN EVERY REGION OF THE WORLD, PEOPLES OF EVERY CONDITION, PEOPLES OF EVERY ASPIRATION.

THE MOST DAMNING THING SAID ABOUT THE PROCESS IS THAT IT WORKS. IT DOES WORK, IT HAS SUCCEEDED. LIBERTIES HAVE DISAPPEARED THE WORLD OVER. PROCEDURE HAS BEEN ERODED, INSTITUTIONS HAVE BECOME SUCKED OF THEIR LIFE AND END AS EMPTY SHELLS. ANY MY SECRETARY OF STATE HAS SPOKEN OF THE PROSPECT THAT THIS INSTITUTION SHALL END AS AN EMPTY SHELL. AND WE SPEAK OUT OF CONCERN. WE SPEAK OUT OF THE CARE, THE DESIRE THAT THIS SHOULD NOT HAPPEN AND OUT OF THE PERCEPTION THAT IT MAY BE HAPPENDING.

AND SO, MR PRESIDENT, WHEN WE RAISED THE QUESTION OF PROCEDURE, I WOULD HOPE IT BE UNDERSTOOD THAT WE RAISED IT NOT AS A PERIPHERAL MATTER BUT WHAT TO US IS A CENTRAL MATTER AND WE RAISED IT IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS BAFFLING, THIS ALARMING ASSERTION OF WHAT I HAVE DESCRIBED AS A PROPOSITION WHICH FACES INSURMOUNTABLE OBJECTIONS IN LOGIC AND IN LANGUAGE AND AS A MATTER OF THE RECORD, AN ASSERTION WHICH MY DISTINGUISHED

COLLEAGUE FROM THE UK HAS CHOSEN TO DESCRIBE IN EVEN STRONGER TERMS. MR PRESIDENT, THIS WORRIES US.

(FOLLOWING IS AN UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF A STATEMENT BY AMB MALIK OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS)

(MR MALIK (USSR) (INTERPRETATION FROM RUSSIAN): I BELIEVE THAT THE PRESENT PROCEDURAL DEBATE SHOULD BE POSTPONED UNTIL AFTER THE VOTE, SINCE THE VOTE WILL CONFIRM WHETHER INDEED THE QUESTION OF INVITING THE REPS OF THE PLO TO PARTICIPATE IN TODAY'S MEETING WAS DECIDED OR NOT. THAT WOULD BE THE BEST COURSE -- TO SEEK CONFIRMATION BY THE MAJORITY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE POSITION IT TOOK AT ITS MEETING. THEREFORE, MR PRESIDENT, WHY DO WE NOT PROCEED TO THE VOTE? THE VOTE WILL SHOW WHO IS RIGHT AND WHO IS WRONG.

AS FOR THE LECTURE WE WERE GIVEN ON LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY AND TOTALITARIANISM, I OF COURSE AGREE WITH THE PROFESSOR, WHO LECTURED US TO THE EFFECTS THAT TOTALITARIANISM IS A TERRIBLE THING INDEED. BUT NO LESS TERRIBLE IS GANGSTERISM IN POLITICS.)

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(IN A FURTHER INTERVENTION, AMB MOYNIHAN SAID:)

MR PRESIDENT, IT IS TIME FOR AN ELEMENT OF SERIOUSNESS IN THIS PROCEEDING. TOTALITARIANISM IS BAD, GANGSTERISM IS WORSE; BUT AS MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND FROM THE SOVIET UNION MUST NO DOUBT AGREE, CAPITULATIONISM IS WORST OF ALL, A PROSPECT WHICH ONE MUST BE CAREFUL TO AVOID AND IN FACT WHICH I DO NOT PROPOSE TO SUCCUMB TO.

MR PRESIDENT, I AGREE WITH YOU AS FOLLOWS: IF WE NOW PROCEED TO VOTE, IT WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT WE DID NOT MAKE A DECISION UPON THE 30TH OF NOV, BECAUSE HAD WE DONE SO THERE WOULD BE NO NEED TO VOTE. THE FACT THAT WE ARE GOING TO VOTE IS PROOF POSITIVE OF THE FACT THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO VOTE. IF IT IS NECESSARY TO VOTE, IT IS BECAUSE NO VOTE HAS BEEN TAKEN. IF NO VOTE HAS BEEN TAKEN IT WAS BECAUSE NO VOTE WAS TAKEN ON THE 30TH OF NOV OR ANY OTHER DAY. A VOTE PROVES THE NECESSITY TO REACH A DECISION WHICH HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN. UNQUOTE
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Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760011-0949
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760160/aaaacbqq.tel
Line Count: 593
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 11
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 JUL 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 JUL 2004 by castelsl>; APPROVED <10 NOV 2004 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

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Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMB MOYNIHAN'S STATEMENTS DURING JANUARY 12 SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST
TAGS: PFOR, XF, US, UNSC, PLO, (MOYNIHAN, DANIEL P)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006